1: Karsten--119 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 619 (1928-29)

"The Indians in their natural state never use salt as a spice. The half-civilized Canelos Indians have learned to use it and are accustomed to make the long journey down to the Huallaga on the Amazon to fetch salt. To these Indians, however, who have much communication with the whites, the salt is at the same time an important article of trade, and the same may in part be said of the Jibaros proper, at any rate those living on the Upano and upper Morona.

These savage Indians, although they never put salt in their food for the sake of making it more palatable, still have developed the preparation of salt into a sort of industry. Salt to them has value exclusively as a remedy, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is especially used as an emetic. Besides this, they [JKM: Jibaros] carry on a sort of trade with salt, their customers being the mestizos of Macas, who obtain all their salt from their savage neighbours."

"Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison , only a few of them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza.[145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes. Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-

makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots' (1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesus en el Marañon Espanol, p. 87."

1: Karsten--249 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 574, 619, 439, 177 (1928-29)

"As appears from the Enéma conversation, the Indians sometimes visit each other for the purpose of bartering, and this kind of friendly communication between the sub-tribes may be contrasted with the still more common wars and blood-feuds. Since those tribes who do not reckon blood-relationship live mostly on a hostile footing with one another, it is only in exceptional cases that such tribes associate in the friendly way that barter requires. The different economic conditions under which the different tribes live may, however, compel them to enter into temporary relations with each other. Thus even their natural hatred for the whites has not prevented the Jibaros from having commercial relations with them for the purpose of obtaining things which are extremely useful or absolutely necessary, like axes, knives, guns, and rifles, as well as gun-powder. I have alluded before to the dirty trade in human heads (tsantsas) between the Jibaros and white 'merchants', and of which we may say that it has encouraged inter-tribal wars and thus contributed towards the diminution of the Jibaro race. Of a harmless nature, on the other hand, has been the trade which the Jibaros on the Upano, Santiago, and Morona have carried on with the mestizos of Macas, who receive all their salt from the Jibaros, as well as such things as deer's flesh, copal, blowguns, etc. The Jibaros of these regions in return receive swine and fowls, guns, powder, knives, axes, and linen chiefly from Macas. Among themselves the different Jibaro sub-tribes mainly barter blowguns, arrow-poison, and arrows--which, as we have seen, must be

made of a special kind of palm not obtainable everywhere--as well as hunting dogs and salt. Between the Indians of the mission of Canelos and the savage Jibaros a friendly barter is carried on which contrasts favourably with the hostility generally prevailing between them in former times. Above all the Jibaros receive from Canelos their 'small drums' (uchíchi tambora), some of their arrow-poison, and arrows of the inayu palm. The Canelos Indians obtain in return blowguns and hunting dogs. It is chiefly in this way that, in spite of all hostilities separating the different tribes, friendly communication is maintained between them, and culture elements are spread in these parts of Western Amazonas."

1; Karsten--275 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 628, 609, 619, 727 (1928-29)

"That the blood-feuds which take place within the tribe have an entirely different character from the wars of extermination waged against foreign tribes also appears from the fact that only in the latter case, but not in the former, do the victors make trophies (tsantsas) of the heads of their slain enemies. Such trophies are prepared only of the heads of enemies belonging to a wholly different tribe, with whom the victors do not reckon blood-relationship. Consequently, when a Jibaro kills a sorcerer or some other enemy of the same tribe as himself, he leaves the dead body lying where it falls, but he does not cut off his head to make a tsantsa of it saying: 'He was of my own people, my own tribe' (winya eintsu). Nor is there any victory-feast in this case. This principle is so strictly observed that if among a hostile tribe, against which war is waged, there happens to be a person who has originally belonged to the tribe of the assailants--he having for instance been captured from the latter during an earlier war--or one who is descended from such a person, the assailants, if victorious, abstain from taking that person's head, reckoning that he is related to some man of their own tribe. 'He was of our own people', they say. The victors may kill him if they are able to do it, but they make no trophy of his head. A Jibaro warrior who did this would run the risk of being killed by his own tribesmen, and, more strictly speaking, by those who reckoned blood-relationship with the victim. In such cases, as a matter of fact, disputes sometimes arise between the victors themselves, some wishing

to take the head of the killed enemy, whereas others, asserting they are related to him by the tie of blood, are opposed to it. The making of a tsantsa of an enemy's head, and especially the feast which follows the acquiring of such a trophy, implies the grossest insult, not only to the murdered person himself and his family, but to his whole tribe. Besides, the great victory-feast, which requires great preparations for years, can only take place where the victor lives far from the vengeful tribesmen of his slain enemy and is safe from their machinations."

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called túnchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--277 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 721, 619 (1928-29)

"Often the hostility between two tribes is only latent, becoming suddenly active through some chance incident, when a war ensues. Thus, as already mentioned, a series of deaths, which are attributed to the evil art of the treacherous enemy, may occasion a war. It also occurs that an Indian, travelling through the territory of a foreign tribe, with which his own stands on no friendly terms, is assassinated by the secret enemies of his own people, who cannot abstain from taking the opportunity. Such an assassination may be the signal for a general war of extermination between the two tribes. This was, for instance, the original cause of the war which, during my sojourn on the Rio Upano, was carried on between some tribes of the Upano and the Santiago on one side, and the Huambiza Indians on the Morona on the other. The son of an influential Indian on the Rio Santiago had, on account of some old quarrel, been murdered while travelling through the land of the Huambiza Indians. The tribesmen of the murdered Indian applied to the Jibaros on the Upano for assistance. The assistance was given, some 40 Upano Indians going down the river to join their friends on the Santiago and marching with them against the Huambizas."

4: Up de Graff--222-223 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 511, 181, 619

"Contentment reigns supreme. Men and women seem happy in their lot. They have an abundance of every necessity and luxury they know. Their one worry in life is the constant fear of attack by raiders, but this they forget as easily as children do the dangers ot the street . Light is the daily round of all, and above all others of him who has a daughter to give in marriage! He who aspires to her hand becomes to all intents and purposes the slave of his future father-in-law for a term of five or six months until he proves his worth. The young savage takes over the scouting, hunting and fishing duties of the house into which he is going to marry; he is at the beck and call of its head, and must answer every call like a fag at school. But only once does he go through the mill; his own household set up, he takes to himself as many wives as he can find among his own people or steal from his enemies; thus it comes about that there is many a woman among the four Jívaro tribes who has been stolen and re-stolen until she is as much at home on the Santiago as on the Marañon, as happy burning hair off monkeys for an Aguaruna as spinning cotton for a Pautecuma. Indeed to my mind there can be one explanation of the existence of identical languages, habits, clothes, modes of fishing and hunting, and applied arts among all the Jívaro peoples, namely that they spring from a common ancestral tribe. A family would break away from the common hunting grounds, move off and establish itself on another river, and nurse its hatred of the parent group until, joined by others, little by little it became the nucleus of another tribe. And so through the course of [223] time they have drifted so far apart that to-day no one tribe

is found with their headquarters within thirty days' canoeing of another, and a deadly hostility exists between them all. There are white men alive to-day in the States who have been scalped by North American Indians; but after the Jívaro has taken his war-trophy, 'finita la commedia.' "

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

174 residing in the Jívaro region were to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

• 619 Today five Jivaroan tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jívaro[6]; the Achuara (Atchuara, Achual); the Huambisa; the Aguaruna; and the "Mayna"[7] (see Map 1). Of these, the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarā*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally simple as the "Jívaro," "Jíbaro," "Shuar" or "Shuara," while the other three Jivaroan tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

101 The term "shuara" (*šuarā*) does not simply mean "Jívaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "men" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apačī*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Untsuri šuarā*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jívaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achuara (*ačuarā šuarā*) to the east. An alternative term, *muraiya šuarā* ("hill Indians") is also applied to the Jívaro proper by the Achuara. The Huambisa (*tsumu šuarā*) refer to the Jívaro proper as "*makas šuarā*" or "*yukina šuarā*,"[8] while the Aguaruna call
128 them the "*patuka širaŋ*."[9] Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jívaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achuara.

131 The Jívaro population, numbering an estimated 7,830
133 persons in 1956–57,[10] dwells chiefly between the Río Pastaza
161 in the north, and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from about 1,200 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui

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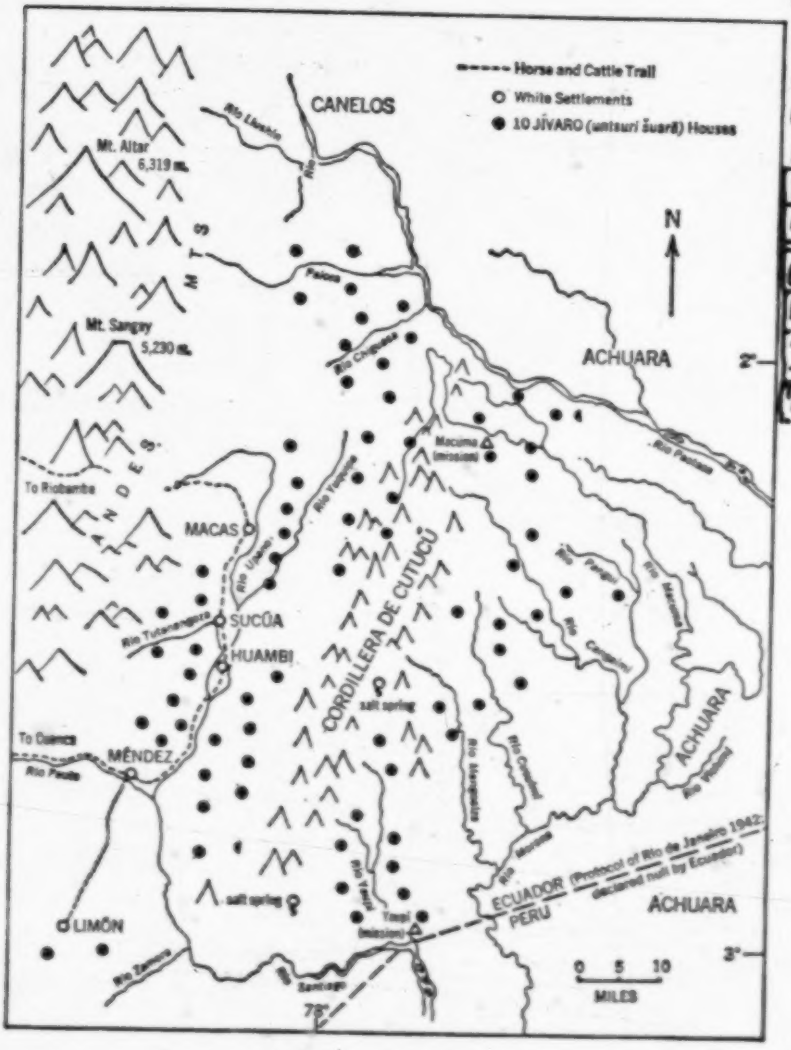
Horse and Cattle Trail
White Settlements
10 JÍVARO (untsuri šuarā) Houses
CANELOS
Río Llushin
Río Pindo
Mt. Altar
6,319 m.
Mt. Sangay
5,230 m.
Río Pastaza
Río Conguime
ACHUARA
N
Macuma (mission)
Río Pastaza
To Riobamba
MACAS
Río Upano
Río Tangoe
SUCÚA
Río Tutanangoza
HUAMBI
CORDILLERA DE CUTUCÚ
salt spring
Río Paute
To Cuenca
MÉNDEZ
Río Yaupi
Río Yaupi
Río Zamora
Río Zamora
Río Santiago
Río Santiago
Río Cangaime
Río Yaupi
Río Yaupi
Río Cangaime
Río Hacienda
Río Pangui
Río Yaupi
Río Yaupi
Río Cangaime
ACHUARA
Río Yaupi
Río Yaupi
Río Yaupi

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diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites. As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward to the Río Chiguasa region.

Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown number of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate strategic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Undoubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against the Jívaro did not occur.

A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also subsequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*tsainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*wakan*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *wakan* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *wakan*, while it is resident in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[3] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.